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F A I T H F U L
M E M O I R S
O F T H E
L I F E *and* A C T I O N S
O F
J A M E S B U T L E R,
L A T E *K*
D u k e o f O R M O N D E, &c.

C O N T A I N I N G,

An Account of his Birth: of *of* Commons, by *Archibald* his Behaviour and Actions from *Hutchinson*, Esq; Sir *Joseph* the Time of the Revolution to *Jekyll*, Master of the Rolls, the his Flight into *France*; his Gallantries in *Ireland* and *Flanders*; *William Wyndham*, Tho. Onslow, Esq; Mr. *Ward*, Mr. *Hungerford*, &c. In which is intersper'd the Discourse that passed between his then Grace of *Ormonde* and Dr. *Atterbury*, at that Time Bishop of *Rockester*, at *Richmond*, on the 20th of July 1715, when the Duke was signing a Letter of Submission to his late Majesty; and the other High Crimes and Misdemeanors; and the Speeches in *Shop*, in order to dissuade him his Behalf, made on *Tuesday* the 21st of *June* 1715, in the House

L O N D O N:

Printed for W. SHROPSHIRE, over-against the
Duke of Grafton's, in *New Bond Street*. 1732.

(Price One Shilling.)





TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE

Earl of *Asburnham*.

MY LORD,

WHEN I consider your Lordship's Candour and Goodness, how Extensive they are, and with what a ready Willingness you are pleased to comply with the reasonable Requests of any of His Majesty's Subjects; I persuade myself that you will favourably accept a Dedication of the following Sheets. I am the more induced to indulge myself with these Hopes, since your Lordship married a Daughter of the late Duke of *Ormonde*, who inherited the Virtues

iv *DEDICATION.*

of the Dutchess her Mother, and having followed the glorious Example of that most Religious and; truly Christian Lady, was not only a shining Ornament to all the Nobility of her Sex, but gave them a Pattern to imitate.

I HAVE attempted to transmit to Posterity these Memoirs of the *unfortunate Duke*, and hope I shall thereby convince the World, that he was unwarily drawn into some Errors of the most dangerous Consequence by a *crafty and designing Minister*, who could have nothing more at Heart than premeditated Intention to ruin him in the basest Manner; and, therefore, to alleviate, in some Degree, what has been objected against the late Duke of *Ormonde*, particular Care has been taken that nothing should be inserted, but what is Genuine.

W H E N

DEDICATION.

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WHEN I had finished this small Treatise, I had no Occasion to spend any Time in considering of a proper Person, to whom I should Dedicate it : You, my Lord, presently occur'd to my Mind, and, I assure myself, that every one must approve the Choice of my Patron upon many Accounts, too numerous to be mentioned here.

I THEREFORE humbly request your Lordship to take these Memoirs under your Protection, not doubting but you commiserate the unhappy Suffering of the unfortunate Person, who is the Subject of them, even though Affinity by Marriage were set aside.

THIS will be a manifest Proof of a real and sincere *Friendship*, which among the Ancients was held
in

vi **DEDICATION.**

in such Esteem and Veneration, that many of them preferred it before *Life*; and the Violators of it stigmatiz'd with an universal Odium, abhorred and contemned by Persons of every Rank and Station.

I am,

My LORD,

your LORDSHIP'S

most devoted, and

most obedient Servant.



T O



TO THE
R E A D E R.

TH E Reader may rely upon the following Memoirs of the late Duke of Ormonde to be authentick; for to insert any Thing therein but what is Matter of Fact, or to palm Falsities upon the World, would be a Manifestation of the most consummate Impudence; especially when there are so many living Witnesses who could refute such Falshoods.

In the following Sheets will appear some Things very surprising, but at the same Time very satisfactory; particularly to those who had not been acquainted with, or had not heard the former Part of the late Duke's Life, nor have been let into the Secret by which he was prevailed upon to quit the Kingdom.

Pre-

Prejudice and Partiality have biased many People to exclaim, in the bitterest Manner, against this unhappy, but once great and flourishing Nobleman; nor have the sharpest Invectives, Misrepresentations, and palpable Falshoods been wanting to exasperate the People, and influence their Minds, with an Indignation and Abhorrence of him. But if they will lay aside Prejudice and Party-rage, if they will hear calmly, and consider coolly, I am persuaded they will acknowledge, that their Hearts ought rather to be filled with Charity and Compassion, than with Hatred and Revenge, and that Piques and Resentment should be superseded by Mercy and Clemency. But I will not detain the Reader any longer than to desire him to peruse the following Memoirs with Impartiality, divesting himself of Spleen, Rancour, and Malice.



M E M O I R S
 O F T H E
 L I F E
 O F
 J A M E S B U T L E R,
 L A T E
 D u k e o f O r m o n d e .

BEFORE I enter into a Detail
 of the Life of *James Butler*,
 late Duke of *Ormonde*, it may
 not be improper to acquaint the
 Publick how the Ancestors of that noble
 Family from whence he is descended took
 the Sirname of *Butler*. To be as con-
 cise therefore as possible, and set this
 Matter in a clear Light, they were
 Courtiers; and attending King *John*
 B in

in his Expedition to *Ireland*, the Title of *Chief Butler* of that Kingdom (which has been a Place of great Profit) was confer'd upon the eldest Brother, and his Heirs Male for ever; and he was also made Butler to his Majesty, which in those Days was esteem'd a Post of great Honour. The Grandfather of this present Gentleman, the Memoirs of whose Life I have undertaken to publish, used to say to Sir *William Usher*, " You see, " Sir, that tho' we were but *Butlers*, " and your Family *Gentlemen Ushers* in " the Reign of King *John*, yet we have " got the Start of you in respect of No- " bility: From the Cellar we mounted " the Roundlets of Honour and Prefer- " ment till we came into the Council, " though your Station was the Anti- " chamber to Majesty".

THE present unhappy Gentleman was the Son of *Thomas* Earl of *Offory*, who was the eldest Son to *James* Marquis of *Ormonde*, created a Duke in the Reign of King *Charles* II. When he was only Marquis of *Ormonde*, King *Charles* I. appointed him to be Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and Governor and Commander in chief of his Majesty's Forces in that Kingdom. In the Massacree of the *Pro-*
testants.

testants by the *Irish Papists*, no less than an hundred and fifty two thousand Men, Women, and Children being in the most barbarous Manner murther'd in ONE DAY, the Marquis by his Care and Conduct prevented the *Papists* from blowing up the Castle of *Dublin*, and laying the City in Ashes; he also saved the Lives of all the *Protestants* within the Pale of *Fingale*, which extended fifteen Miles N. and several Miles N. E. and N. W. the beforementioned City. But he had not the same good Fortune in the *Civil Wars*; for though he espoused his Royal Master's Cause with Zeal and Loyalty, yet when he encountered the Parliament-Forces, then commanded by Sir *William Jones*, at *Rathmines*, about three Miles from *Dublin*, he was unfortunately defeated, but not taken Prisoner, though most of the Kings Troops were slain.

THE Earl of *Ossary* dying before his Father, who did not survive him long, the Titles of Honour descended to his Grandson *James*, who was then a Student at *Oxford*; and though the Earl had sent for him before his Sickness, yet at the earnest Solicitations and Entreaties of the Vice Chancellor and Heads of that University,

versity, his Lordship consented he should continue there to pursue his Studies.

THE late Duke of *Ormonde's* second Wife is the Lady *Mary Sommerset*, Daughter to the Duke of *Beaufort*, and Great-Aunt to the present Duke; a Lady of exemplary Piety, good Sense, sound Judgment, and extensive Charity; a virtuous and tender Mother, with the Air of Majesty, and yet courteous and affable; a Lady, whose Character never suffered the least Reproach, for she never gave the least Occasion for any. The Duke had several Children by this Lady; but what affected him most sensibly was the Death of his only Son *Thomas Earl of Ossary*, who died when he was young.

THIS unfortunate Gentleman was one of the earliest Patriots, who consulted to destroy the Measures of King *James II.* and one of the foremost that subscribed an Invitation to the Prince of *Orange* to come over and rescue the Protestants from *Papery* and *Arbitrary Power*, and restore to them their Religion, Rights, and Privileges. When that Heroic Prince landed at *Torbay*, in the West of *England*, he marched to *Exeter*, and this News being brought to King *James*, he gather'd his

his Troops together, and form'd a Camp on *Salisbury Plain* ; but as soon as he heard that the Duke of *Ormonde*, and the Lord *Marlborough* (afterwards created Duke of *Marlborough*) were gone over to the Prince, he sigh'd and said, *Then it is Time for me to be gone.* Prince George of *Denmark*, and the Princess *Anne*, who, upon the Death of King *William*, was proclaim'd Queen of *Great Britain*, took an Opportunity of flying from the King, and joyn'd the Prince of *Orange*. When the Prince of *Orange* and her Royal Highness *Mary*, Princess of *Orange*, were by the unanimous Consent of the Convention of the two Estates of the Realm, (King *James II.* having abdicated the Throne, and fled to *France*,) requested and even solicited to except the Crown of *England*, they complied therewith, and were soon proclaim'd King and Queen of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland* ; and having settled the *Bill of Rights*, so necessary for the Preservation of our Religion, Liberty, and Property ; and purg'd the Universities, particularly *Oxford*, which had been principally possess'd by *Seminary Priests*, *Jesuits*, and half-fac'd *Protestants*, he appointed *James*, late Duke of *Ormonde*, to be one of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, and also a Knight Companion

panion of the most noble Order of the *Garter*: The Universities of *Oxford* and *Dublin*, made Choice of him for their Chancellor, as did the City of *Westminster* for their *High Steward*; which Places he discharged with Fidelity and Honour, and was not remov'd from them till after his unhappy Flight from *England*. However the University of *Oxford*, as a Testimony of the great Value and Esteem which they had for the Family of their late Chancellor, chose his Brother, the present Earl of *Arran*, to succeed him.

KING *James II.* as I observ'd before, having abdicated the Crown, and fled to *France*, implor'd and obtain'd Succours from the *French* King to re-establish him, and, pursuant thereunto, he landed in *Ireland*, where he was join'd by great Numbers of *Irish Papists*: King *William* therefore thought it proper to reduce that Kingdom by Force, and having order'd a sufficient Number of Horse and Foot to be ready at an Hour's Warning, and appointing his Royal Consort Queen *Mary* to be Regent during his Absence, he desired the late Duke of *Ormonde* to accompany him, for he knew he had a great Interest in that Kingdom. The Duke of *Ormonde* willingly

ingly consented, and when King *William* offered to make him General of the Horse, he very modestly declin'd the Acceptation of that Command, saying, " That he " was too young and unexperienc'd in " Military Affairs to discharge the Duty " that so great a Post requir'd; and " therefore hoped his Majesty would " excuse him, and confer that Com- " mand upon an old and experienced " Soldier: However he assur'd his Ma- " jesty that he would always be near his " Royal Person, and behave himself as " became a dutiful Subject and an *Eng- " lishman*".

THE King was very well pleased with what the Duke had said, and appointed Duke *Schomberg* to be General of the Horse; and the Forces having been imbarqued, he set sail from *England*, accompanied with the Duke of *Ormonde*, and landed at *Carrickfergus* in the North Part of *Ireland*, *June* the 14th, 1688. He behaved himself gallantly during the Wars of *Ireland*, but more particularly at the famous Battle of the *Boyne*, where King *James* and his numerous Host of *Frenchmen* and *Irish Papists*, though most advantageously situated, on the Side of the River, which the *English* and the *Dutch*

Dutch Troops were obliged to pass, being intirely routed, the King fled, and pursuing his Journey as fast as he could, to *Waterford*, embarqued at *Duncannon*, and landed in *France*.

KING *William*, having obtain'd the Glory of the Day, though much concern'd for the Loss of the Duke of *Schomberg*, who was shot during the Battle, sent the Duke of *Ormonde* to *Dublin*, to secure that Metropolis, to cherish the Protestant Inhabitants, and enable them to defend themselves. When the Duke arriv'd, he rejoic'd to see the Protestants who were confin'd in Churches and Prisons, well armed, and that they had appointed Captain *Farlow*, who but two Days before had been taken Prisoner, but bravely fought his way through his Enemies with Sword in Hand, to be Governor of *Dublin* Castle, and he continued him in that Post, and afterwards return'd and join'd the Grand Army, giving King *William* an Account of what he had done, and seen; at which his Majesty was extreamly well satisfied.

THE Victory obtain'd by this Battle, was attended by the Surrender of several Towns, and other fortified Places, and

and more especially by the Battle of *Aughrim*, where the *French* General *St. Ruth*, as he was ridiculing and despising the King's Forces, and smiling with the Officers who were near him, when he rode on the Top of a Hill to take a View of King *William's* Troops, was suddenly shot by a Cannon Ball. This put King *James's* Army into a Fright, and very much facilitated the Victory that was obtain'd, in which the Duke of *Ormonde* had a large Share. The City of *Limerick* held out two Sieges, but being at last taken by Capitulation, and the whole Kingdom being reduc'd to Obedience, the King, the Duke of *Ormonde*, and the *English* and *Dutch* Troops re-embarked and landed safe in *England*; leaving *Ginckle* Earl of *Athlone* to command the Forces in *Ireland*.

AT the next Sessions of Parliament, the King declar'd his Resolution of carrying on the War against the *French* King, *Lewis XIV.* in *Flanders* and command the Army in Person. This occasion'd warm Debates in the House of Commons, because they dreaded the fatal Consequences which might attend such a precipate Undertaking, as some of the Members were pleased to term it, because his Majesty

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was

was scarce settled on the Throne ; however, it was agreed to by the House ; and the Duke of *Ormonde* offering his Service as a Voluntier, the King readily accepted it. Thereupon the Duke equipped himself with a very noble and sumptuous Train, and pitched his Tent, which was magnificent and costly, very near to King *William's*, and for the Glory of his Country, kept open Table every Day ; he spared no Expences, by which he very much impoverished his Estate ; but he valued it not, esteeming his Money well-bestowed which was laid out for the Credit and Service of his Country.

AT the unhappy Battle of *Lauden*, the Duke of *Ormonde* behaved himself with wonderful Courage and Conduct ; he often rallied the scattered Troops, when routed and put into Disorder by the Enemy ; but when King *William* was obliged to retreat, had it not been for the Duke of *Ormonde*, he must inevitably have fallen into the Hands of the Enemies, who pursued him very close.

THE Duke seeing the Danger his Majesty was in, open'd his Coat, and rein'd in his Horse, to slack his Pace, on purpose to be taken Prisoner ; and the
Enemy

Enemy seeing the *Star* and *Garter*, concluded immediately that they had taken the King, who, by this Stratagem, had an Opportunity of getting to a *Pass*, which he ordered General *Wood* to guard, 'till he could retreat out of the Pursuit of the Enemy. It was now rumoured, that King *William* was taken Prisoner, several *French* Officers rode up and demanded which was the Prince of *Orange*? The Duke of *Ormonde*, shewing them his *Star* and *Garter*, said, *I am the Prince*; whereupon, one of them immediately discharged a Pistol at him, but missed his Mark, and was very severely punished for his villanous Attempt.

THE Duke being brought to the *French* General's Tent, was by him entertain'd very handsomly, and with all the Respect imaginable, for he took him for King *William*. When he perceived that his illustrious Prisoner, as he call'd him, had receiv'd several Wounds, he order'd his own Surgeon to dress them; but upon the Request of the Duke, a Trumpet was sent to demand the *English* Surgeons to attend him.

THE Duke of *Berwick*, Natural Son to King *James*, and then a General in

the *French* Service, hearing the Report that had been spread, galloped presently to the *French* General's ; but sure no Man was ever so mortified, when, instead of finding King *William*, he saw the Duke of *Ormonde*. He then discovered the Mistake to the General, and, mounting his Horse, took eight Troops with him, and rode so furiously in Pursuit of the King, that he did not take any Notice of the Enemy 'till he fell in with the Lord *Marlborough*, afterwards created Duke of *Marlborough*, who surrounding him with forty Horsemen, ask'd *what he wou'd do with the King?* The Duke of *Berwick* replied, *I wou'd Pistol him. But I will prevent you,* answered my Lord *Marlborough*. As soon as he perceiv'd his Error, he said, *Ah! Uncle, are you there, then my Design is frustrated.* He was presently taken Prisoner, and carried away by the *English*, and afterwards ransomed for the Duke of *Ormonde*, who had remain'd in the Hands of the *French*, much longer than he need have done, had he consented to have been exchang'd sooner.

At his Return, the Duke was very affectionately received by King *William*, who heartily acknowledged the great Service

Service he had done him, in preventing his being taken by the *French*, which might have proved very fatal to the Protestants of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*. But when the Duke, with some Warmth, complained that he thought it a Dishonour to be exchanged for a *Bastard*, King *William* answer'd, *I was willing, my Lord Duke, to have you out of the Power of the French as soon as possible, and to this End embraced the first Opportunity that offered ; but tho' this could not be obtained by any other Means than in giving a Bastard, as you have observ'd, in Exchange for you, yet I would have you remember that that very Bastard is a King's Son.* If the Duke was not satisfied with this Answer, yet he was so prudent as to seem so by his Obedience.

HERE I shall leave his Grace, as to the Reign of King *William*, and proceed to the Reign of Queen *Anne*.

UPON the Accession of Queen *Anne* to the Crown, her Majesty proclaimed War against *France* and *Spain* ; and it was determined to invade the latter. This having been communicated to the *States-General*, they sent their Quota of Men and Ships, to join the *English*. The
Troops

Troops were encamp'd in the Isle of *Wight*, and embarking at *Portsmouth*, the Duke of *Ormonde* was appointed Commander in chief of the *English* Forces, and Sir *George Rook* was made Admiral of the *English* Squadron, who, in Conjunction with the *Dutch*, sailed from *Spithead* the 1st of *July*, 1702, and anchored in the Bay of *Bulls*, about three Leagues from *Cadiz*, the 12th of *August*; and Sir *Thomas Smith* having sounded the Shore on the Back of the Isle of *Leon*, in which *Cadiz* stands, and reported that there were two very convenient Bays to make a Descent, the Duke of *Ormonde*, Commander in chief of the Land Forces, insisted vehemently, in a Council of War, upon the Landing in the Isle of *Leon*, in order to a sudden and vigorous Attack of *Cadiz*, where the Disorder and Consternation was so great, that in all probability his Grace's Enterprize would have been crowned with Success: But many, especially the Sea Officers, opposed the Duke's Motion, and it was ordered that the Army should first take the Fort of *St. Catherine*, and Port *St. Mary*, whereby they might facilitate their nearer Approach to *Cadiz*. Accordingly the Land Forces were set on Shore in the Bay of *Bulls*, and made themselves Masters

Masters of *Rota*, *St. Catherine* and Fort *St. Mary*, which rich Town was ransacked and plundered by licentious Soldiers and greedy Officers, who also ravish'd several Nuns. By this Time the Garrison of *Cadiz* recovered their Surprise, and were considerably re-inforced; and the Confederates having in vain attempted the the Fort *Metagorda*, Provision growing scarce with them, and the Sea Officers representing the Danger of staying in those Seas, the Duke of *Ormonde* (though not without great Reluctancy,) was forc'd to consent to the re-embarquing, the Land Forces, which was done the 14th, 15th, and 16th, of *September*.

By this Time, the News of the Arrival of the *French* Squadron, under the Command of Monsieur *Chateau Renalt*, with the *Spanish* Galleons, in the Harbour of *Vigo*, being brought to *England*, Orders were sent immediately to Sir *George Rook*, to attempt the taking or destroying them; and Sir *Cloudesley Shovel*, was ordered with another Squadron of Men of War, upon the same Attempt. But before these Orders could reach the Grand Fleet, Sir *George Rook*, in his Return homewards, having been inform'd,

inform'd, that M. *Chateau-Renault*, was arriv'd at *Vigo* with thirty Men of War, and twenty two Galleons, it was resolv'd to attempt the destroying the *French* and *Spanish* Ships in that Harbour. Accordingly the Fleet steer'd their Course towards *Vigo*, came to Anchor almost unperceived by the Enemy, by reason of the hazy Weather, the 11th of *October*; and finding that the *French* and *Spanish* Ships were carried up beyond a narrow Streight defended by a Castle on the one Side, and by certain Platforms provided with Cannon on the other, besides a strong Boom above it, made with Masts, Cables, Chains, &c. it was resolved in a Council of War, that since the whole Fleet could not go up safely to the Place where the Enemies Ships lay, a Detachment of fifteen *English* and ten *Dutch* Men of War, with all the Frigots, Firships and Bomb-Vessels should go upon that Service, with all the Flag Officers on board them, while Part of the Land-Forces were to make a Descent, and attack the Fort on the South Side *Redondella*.

PURSUANT to this Resolution, the Duke of *Ormonde* having landed two thousand five hundred Men, *October* the
12th,

12th, two Leagues from *Vigo*, on the South Side of the River, without the least Opposition, sent the Grenadiers before to advance to the Fort, at the Entrance of the Harbour, which they did with such Chearfulness, that, having made themselves Masters of a Platform of 38 Pieces of Cannon, they pursued the *French* to the very Gates of the Castle, or Stone Tower, and attack'd them so vigorously, that M. *Sorel*, their Commander, despairing of holding out the Place, attempted to fight his Way thro' the *English* with Sword in Hand. But no sooner had they open'd the Gate than the Grenadiers rushed in, made themselves Masters of the Castle, and took three hundred *French* Seamen, and Fifty *Spaniards* Prisoners.

WHILST these Things were transacting on Shore, the Squadron design'd for this Expedition, advanced briskly towards the *Boom*, and after being stopt by a little Calm, Vice Admiral *Hopson*, in the *Torbay*, broke, amidst the Enemies Fire, through the *Boom*, where he was receiv'd by divers Broadfides from the *Burbon* and *Hope*, two *French* Men of War, that were placed within the *Boom*. The rest of Vice Admiral *Hopson's* Division,

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and

and that of the *Dutch*, under Vice Admiral *Vander Goes*, being at the same Time upon the *Boom*, were becalm'd, and consequently stuck, so that they were forced to cut their Way through it, except their Admiral, who hit the same Way through which *Hopson* had enter'd before. Vice Admiral *Hopson* being in the mean Time boarded by a Fire Ship, was in great Danger of being burnt, had not the Fire Ship been blown up too soon; notwithstanding which, he receiv'd considerable Damage in his Rigging, and many of his Men, during the first Consternation, leaped over-board in hopes to have saved themselves, but were almost all drowned, while the rest behaved themselves so well as to preserve the Ship.

THE *French* Admiral seeing the *Boom* cut in Pieces, the Platform and Castle in the Enemies Hands, the *Burbon* taken, and the whole confederate Fleet ready to fall among them, ordered his own Ship to be set on fire, and his Example being followed by all the rest, afforded a most dreadful Spectacle to the *Spaniards* as well as to the *French*; and while they were busied in the Destruction of their own Fleet, the *Spaniards* were as careful in preserving

preserving it, not without tollerable good Success ; several as well of the Men of War, as of the Galleons being taken by them, *viz.* ten *French* and three *Spanish* Men of War, of which seven were so disabled, as to be bulged or sunk, and of thirteen Galleons, nine were taken by the *English* and five by the *Dutch*, the rest being burnt, with nine *French* Men of War and three Scout-Ships.

WHAT made this Advantage the more considerable was, that the same was purchased with an inconsiderable Loss, not above forty Men kill'd, and ten wounded of the Land Forces in this Expedition, and very few of the Seamen, except those of Vice Admiral *Hopson's* Ship, that were drowned. As to the Cargo on board this Fleet, which was computed at Twenty Millions of Pieces of Eight, in *Silver only*, about Fourteen Millions of it were taken out before by the Enemy ; the rest were either taken, sunk or burnt ; and the Goods and Effects being valued at no less than the Plate, they had not saved above one fourth Part of them, two being destroyed, and the rest taken by the Confederates ; besides a great Quantity of Plate and other rich Commodities, concealed for the Use of

private Persons in the Galleons, and a great deal of other Plate belonging to the *French* Officers found at *Rodondella*, of which the Duke of *Ormonde* took Possession the next Morning.

ON the 14th, the Duke proposed to attack *Vigo*, with an Intent to Winter there, in case the Admiral could leave sufficient Provisions, and such a certain Number of Ships, as should be thought requisit; but the Admiral declaring that he could not have above five or six Weeks Provisions, and about six Frigates, that Design was laid aside.

SIR *Cloudesley Shovel* having join'd the Confederate Fleet with twenty nine Sail on the 16th, the Land Forces re-embark'd the next Day, and the 19th, Sir *George Rook*, and Vice Admiral *Hopson*, with ten *English* Men of War more, set sail for *England*, leaving Sir *Cloudesley Shovel* to destroy the Enemies Ships that were run on Shore; which having effected, he also steer'd his Course for *England*.

THE Success which the Duke of *Ormonde* had at *Vigo*, prevented his being call'd to an Account for not punishing the Officers who deflowered the *Nuns*
at

at Port *St. Mary*, which exasperated the *Spaniards* to such a Degree that they were resolv'd to perish, one and all, rather than yield up *Cadiz*. The Soldiers and Sailors made themselves Masters of much Plunder of great Value, but their Golden and Silver Plumes were soon pluck'd from them by their Officers ; but the Loss of so many Men of War dejected the *French*, as the Destruction of the Galleons struck the *Spaniards* with Terror, who having lost their Treasure, were deprived of the Sinews of War till next Year.

IN the Year 1703, the Duke of *Ormonde* was made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, Governor of the same, and General and Commander in Chief of all her Majesty's Forces in that Kingdom. When he landed near *Dublin*, he proceeded to that City, attended with a Train of Noblemen's, Gentlemen's, and other Coaches, upwards of eight hundred in Number ; and being met by the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen at *Lazar's Hill*, the Keys of the City, according to Custom, were presented to him, which he took, and the Recorder having made a Speech in Behalf of the Citizens, wherein he congratulated his Grace upon
his

his arrival, and thank'd her Majesty for giving them a Governor so acceptable to all her faithful and dutiful Subjects.

THE Duke having returned the Keys of the City, proceeded to the Council Chamber, and having taken the usual Oaths, went from thence to the *Castle*.

DURING his Administration, he did not give any Man a just Cause to Murmur or Complain, and by his Liberality, Affability and courteous Deportment, he rivetted himself into the Hearts of the People. His Dutcheſs made the Wellfare of the Wollen Manufactuer, and the Weavers and Stuff Shops her greatest Concern; insomuch that her Grace wore a new Stuff Suit every *Monday*, whose Example was followed by all the Nobility and Gentry, so that no Lady appeared at Court in any other Dress.

HIS Excellency, the Duke, returned to *England* when three Years were expired, that being the longest Time allowed to any Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* to continue in such a high and profitable Station. At the Tryal of Dr. *Sacheveral*, he exerted himself strenuously in his Intrest, and Queen *Anne* had such

a particular Value and Regard for him on account of his Loyalty, and firm Attachment to the Church of *England*, that she appointed him Lord Lieutenant a second Time. This was said to have been done with a Design to make him Recompence for the easy Purchase of the Palatinate of *Tipeerary*, to which he consented upon the first Intimation that had been given him; for he was very unwilling that a Power (so very extensive, which reach'd to Life and Member, according to the Enormity of the Crime) should descend to a Papist, in Case that he and his Brother the Earl of *Arran*, should die without Issue Male. But the Revelation of this great Power, and the Profit arising from the Chief Butlership of *Ireland*, were vested in the Crown.

DECEMBER the 31st, 1711, the Duke of *Marlborough* was removed from all his Employments, and the next Morning the Duke of *Ormonde* was appointed Captain General of her Majesty's Forces. This was a most unhappy New Year's Gift, as will appear by the Sequel. At this Time the Lord *B——b——ke*, and others of the Ministry, were paving the Way to bring in the

the *Pretender*. They very well knew that it was impossible to effect their treasonable Design, while a Person of such Sagacity and Penetration as the Duke of *Marlborough* commanded the Forces, therefore they thought it most adviseable to represent his *Grace* in black Colours to the Queen, and prevail with her Majesty, by sly and false Insinuations, to get him discarded, and to have the Duke of *Ormonde* plac'd in his Room. They succeeded herein, but Heaven was pleas'd to frustrate their Design, and though they carried some Points, yet the Principal proved abortive, and baffled their great Hopes in the End.

BUT now to open a Scene of Villany, which has been concealed from most Men, I must observe, that the last Article in every General's Orders is to this Effect; viz. *And you shall obey such further Orders and Directions, as you shall from Time to Time receive from Us, by our Secretary of State.* This Article so high important, was wilfully omitted by the Lord B——b——ke,

THE Duke of *Ormonde* having received his Orders, not in the least imagining there had been a Snare in them

them to trap him, arriv'd at the *Hague* April 22d, 1711. On the 30th he join'd Prince *Eugene*, who had put himself at the Head of the Army, and promised his Highness, as he had done before the *States General*, to act in Concert with him. Before the Arrival of these two Generals, the Earl of *Albemarle* and General *Cadogan*, had burnt the Enemies Magazines at *Arras*, and every thing promised a fair and prosperous Campaign. But this good News was not acceptable to *B——b——ke*, nor his Accomplices, and therefore fresh Orders were dispatch'd to the Duke of *Ormonde*, as will immediately appear.

A favourable Opportunity presenting itself, Prince *Eugene* propos'd to attack the *French* Army, but the Duke shewing some Unwillingness to this, and being further press'd, at length declar'd he had receiv'd positive Orders from the *Queen*, (sign'd only by *B——b——ke*,) not to agree to a Battle. The Prince then propos'd the Siege of *Quesnoy*, but the Duke confessed his Orders prohibited him from entering into any Action against the Enemy, either by Battle or Siege. This alarmed the *Confederates*, and Complaints were made to the Bi-

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shop of *Bristol* by the States of *Utrecht*; who returned this Answer, That by her Majesty's Orders (which came out of the same Mint with those sent to the Duke of *Ormonde*,) he was to tell them, That considering the Conduct of the STATES toward her, she thought herself free from all Engagements and Alliances with their *High Mightinesses*. Hereupon Prince *Eugene* dispatch'd the Baron *de Hoendorf*, to represent this Matter to the Queen, which being back'd by other Motives, Orders were sent to the Duke of *Ormande* to concur with the Allies in a Siege.

ACCORDING to these last Instructions from *England*, the Allies sat down before *Quesnoy*, and resolv'd to push on the War without *England*: But not long after, the Duke declar'd he had received Orders (which were conveyed to him by a Trumpet, sent by M. *Villars*, the *French* General) to publish within three Days a *Suspension of Arms* for two Months, between his Army and the *French*, and to make a Detachment to take Possession of *Dunkirk*; he also proposed that the like Suspension should be made in the Confederate Army. The States Deputies demanding some time to
consider

consider of it, the Duke told them that he could give none, and if they persisted in carrying on the Siege, he must march off his Troops in three Days, which he accordingly did, and in his March to *Ghent*, ordered the Suspension of Arms to be proclaim'd. — Thus we see how, by the wicked Contrivances of a perjured, crafty and traytorous Secretary, the Honour of *England* was sacrificed, her General *duped* into High Treason, and her Allies basely forsaken.

THERE is no Room to doubt, but that the Duke of *Ormonde* would have declin'd the Commission of Captain General, if he could have foreseen, that he was designed to have been made the *Tool* of the Ministry, whereby he not only brought an indelible Stain upon his Character, which before was as bright and clear as the Sun, but also most unwarily involved himself in the worst Crime that he could commit against his Country. Such a Defection of the *British* Troops very much exasperated the Confederates, and the *Dutch* Painters painted the Duke of *Ormonde* lying down in an indolent and careless Manner, his Sword *padlocked*, and this Motto over his Head, *Dormit & Senescit; i.e. He Sleeps*

and Doats. However, this may be said in Mitigation of his Crime, that his honest Nature was imposed on, and abused through a mistaken Sense of Zeal and Loyalty for his Royal Mistress, imagining that what he acted was conformable to the Queen's Directions.

WHEN his late Majesty King George I. landed at *Greenwich*, the Duke of *Ormonde*, among the rest of the Nobility, went to pay his Duty and Complement to his Majesty upon his Arrival; but as he was going up the great Stairs, a certain Lord came to him, and said, *That his Majesty had no farther Service for him.* Hereupon the Duke withdrew, and returned to *London*, from whence he set out for his Seat at *Richmond* in *Surrey*.

ON *Tuesday 21st June, 1715.* the Duke of *Ormonde* was impeached of High Treason, and other High Crimes and Misdemeanors. Hereupon Mr. *Archibald Hutchinson*, one of the Commissioners of Trade, made a great Speech in Behalf of the Duke, wherein he set forth,
 “ His noble Birth and Qualifications, and
 “ the great Services which both he and
 “ his illustrious Ancestors had perform'd
 “ to the Crown and Nation. That in
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“ the whole Course of his late Conduct
 “ he had but obeyed the late Queen’s
 “ Commands ; and if all that was al-
 “ ledged against his Grace in the Re-
 “ port, could be made out, it would, in
 “ the Rigor of the Law, amount to
 “ no more than a *High Misdemeanour*”.

This Speech made a great Impression up-
 on the Assembly, and Mr. *Hutchinson* was
 seconded by General *Lumley*, who said,
 among other Things, “ That the Duke
 “ of *Ormonde* had, on all Occasions, gi-
 “ ven signal Proofs of his Affection and
 “ Love to his Country, and of his per-
 “ sonal Bravery and Courage, particu-
 “ larly at the Battle of *Larden*; and
 “ that the late King *William* was ex-
 “ tremely satisfied with his late Be-
 “ haviour. That his Grace had gene-
 “ rously spent the best Part of his Estate
 “ in the Wars, living in a most noble
 “ and splended Manner, for the Honour
 “ of his Country. That, therefore, in
 “ Consideration of his great Services, and
 “ his illustrious Relations, if he had of
 “ late been so unfortunate as to fail in
 “ any Part of his Conduct, they ought
 “ not to proceed against him with the
 “ utmost Rigor of the Law ; the rather
 “ because he meant well, and was drawn
 “ into ill Measures by crafty Mini-
 “ sters”.

sters". Sir *Joseph Jekyll* spoke also in Favour of the Duke of *Ormonde*; he said,
 " That if there was Room for Mercy,
 " he hoped it would be shewn to that
 " noble, generous and couragious Peer,
 " who, for many Years, had exerted
 " those great Accomplishments for the
 " Good and Honour of his Country.
 " That if of late he had the Misfortune
 " to deviate from his former Conduct,
 " the Blame ought not in Justice and
 " Equity to be laid to him, but to them
 " principally who, abusing his Affection,
 " Loyalty, and Zeal for his Royal
 " Mistress, had drawn him into pernicious
 " Councils. That therefore, as the
 " Statute 23. *Edward III.* on which the
 " High Treason against his Grace was
 " to be grounded, had been mitigated
 " by subsequent Laws, the House ought
 " not, in his Opinion, to take Advantage
 " of that Act against the Duke, but only
 " impeach him of High Crimes and
 " Misdemeanors". Sir *Joseph* added, in
 the Course of this Debate, " That some
 " Persons endeavoured to aggravate
 " the Duke of *Ormonde's* Faults, by
 " charging upon him the Riots and Tumults
 " committed daily in many Places;
 " but he durst aver his Grace did no
 " way countenance those Disorders,
 and

“ and if the Disaffected made use
 “ of his Name, unknown to him,
 “ his Grace ought not to suffer for
 “ it”. General *Ross* laid great Stress
 upon Sir *Joseph's* Opinion, and spoke
 in his Commendation, and the Duke's
 Praise; Sir *William Wyndham*, *Thomas*
Onslow Esq; Mr. *Ward*, Mr. *Hungerford*,
 and several others of both Parties, spoke
 likewise on the same Side. Sir *Edward*
Northey did not disown but “ That in
 “ the Report of the Committee of Secre-
 “ cy, there were some Matters on which
 “ an Impeachment of High Treason
 “ might be grounded against the Duke
 “ of *Ormonde*, but did not think proper
 “ to explain himself further on that
 “ Occasion”. Mr. *Lechmere*, who was
 Solicitor General spoke plainly, and men-
 tion'd a Case parallel to the Duke's, which
 had been adjudg'd High Treason.

By this Time the Debates lasted from
 about one o'Clock till near Nine, and
 Candles being brought in, the Debate
 was prolong'd to about half an Hour
 after Ten, when the Question was put,
 and resolved by the Majority, 234 against
 187, That this House will impeach *James*
Duke of Ormonde, of High Treason, and
 other High Crimes and Misdemeanors;
 after

after which it was ordered, That it be refered to the Committee of Secrecy to draw up Articles of Impeachment, and prepare Evidence against *James Duke of Ormonde*.

IT was observ'd, that scarce any Debate was managed in that House with more Calmness and Decency, than that about the Duke of *Ormonde* not an angry or passionate Word having dropt from any that spoke for or against his Grace. It was likewise observ'd, that many Whigs and Courtiers went out of the House, to avoid giving their Votes, which they could not do without wronging their Consciences, or doing Violence to the Tenderness and Affection they bore to that unfortunate Nobleman.

GREAT Interest was made to obtain a Pardon for the Duke, and such was his Majesty's Goodness, Tenderness, and Compassion, that (according to the general Report) the Duke should be pardoned, provided that he would write a Letter of Submission to his Majesty, and acknowledge his Crime. His Grace consented hereunto, but on the 20th of *July*, as he was signing the Letter, *Dr Francis Atterbury*

Atterbury, who was then Bishop of *Rochester*, having been inform'd of the Duke's Intention, came to *Richmond*, and told him that it was derogatory to his Honour, to ask Pardon, not having committed any Offence, his Actions having been regulated by the Queen's Orders and Directions. To this Purpose he discoursed with the Duke for the space of an Hour, and at last prevail'd with him to pursue his Advice, which he unfortunately did. Here I must observe that a certain great Lady seeing the Bishop going up Stairs, said to a Woman who had nursed her Children, *O Nurse! there goes the Ruin of me and my Family.*

THE Duke embarked privately on the Coast of *Kent*, between the 20th, and the 21st of *July*, and went over to *France*, and *August* the 4th, Mr. *Walpole* laid before the Commons Articles of Impeachment against his Grace, which were carried up to the Lords the 8th, and received the Royal Assent on the 20th.

THE late Duke of *Ormonde*, not thinking himself secure enough in *France*, retired to *Madrid*, and, if Fame be not a Lyar, he was favourably received by
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the King of *Spain*, and a Pension of 8000 Pistoles a Year settled upon him.

I N the Year 1719, the late King *George I.* came to the House of Peers *March 10*, and having sent for the Commons, acquainted both Houses, that he had received Advice from the King of *France*, of a designed Invasion of these Kingdoms from *Spain*, in Favour of the Pretender, &c. Soon after his Majesty issued out a Proclamation for Apprehending *James Butler*, late Duke of *Ormonde*, with a Reward of 5000*l.* and for the late Earls *Mareschal*, *Seaforth*, &c. 1000*l.* and for every other Peer attainted, or who, at, on, or before his Attainder was of the Degree of a Peer of this Realm 1000*l.* and for every Gentleman under the Degree of a Peer 500*l.* But notwithstanding that *Spain* saw her Design was discovered, yet she carried on the Invasion, and when the *Spaniards* and *Highlanders* were defeated by his Majesty's Forces, under the Command of Major General ——— (300 of the former having been made Prisoners) *June 10.* it was as great a Pleasure to those who pitied the Misfortunes of the Duke of *Ormonde*, as it was a Mortification to his Enemies, to be assured that he

he was not among those who invaded the Kingdom.

IT is now Time to hasten to a Conclusion, for which Reason I must desire the Reader to observe, that by what has been said in the preceeding Pages, it plainly appears that the Simplicity and Credulity of the late Duke of *Ormonde* were the first Foundation of his Ruin. The traitorous Secretaty knew very well where his *Folly* lay, and therefore by his wiley Stratagems he drew him into a Snare insensibly, by which Means the unfortunate Gentleman unwarily committed *High Treason* at the same Time that he imagined he was acting with the strictest Allegiance, and discharging his Duty to his Country, as well as his Loyalty to his Royal Mistress.

THE Crafty Minister whose Design was to introduce *Popery* and the *Pretender*, not doubting but that he should be rewarded with a *Dukedom*, and the most profitable and honourable Employment in the Nation, was aware that the surest Way to accomplish his Design, was to inveigle the then Duke of *Ormonde*, who, tho' ambitious, was universally belov'd; and the first Step he took to accomplish

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his

End, was to remove the Duke of *Marlborough*, and obtain the Post of Captain General of all her Majesty's Forces for the Duke of *Ormonde*. This he effected, and being sensible, that as the Duke was a Man of Gallantry, he would lay hold on the first convenient Opportunity to fight the *French*, and being apprehensive that they would be worsted, and all his Measures be thereby defeated, he sends a Letter to the Duke, intimating, that he must not engage the *French*, who were now no longer Enemies to *England*; and added further, that he must obey such Orders as he should receive from the Marshal *Villars*, all which he said were her Majesty's Commands. The Duke perceived that he was *duped*, that the Secretary had made him his *Tool*, and though he had the strongest Propensity imaginable to venture a Battle, yet when he reflected on his Duty to his Sovereign, and that he must pay Obedience to her Commands, he desisted from following what was so agreeable to his Inclination.

NOR was there wanting another principal Engine to procure the Downfall and Disgrace of this unhappy Gentleman; I mean an *English* Bishop, who professed himself to be of the Communi-
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on of our Church ; in him the late Duke had placed an entire Confidence, by whom he was misguided, tho' he thought he could not err in following his Steps. Their Plot was almost ripe for Execution ; however, they did not carry their Matters in such a private Manner, as to prevent their taking Air in a critical Minute ; which coming to the Knowledge of the *Queen*, she laid it so near her Heart, that seizing on her Spirits, it soon hastened her Death.

T H U S, by the special Providence of Heaven, they had the Mortification to see their diabolical Schemes and Machinations disconcerted ; *Old England* once more rescu'd from the eminent Danger of *Popery*, and the *Protestant Religion* secured, our Lives, Liberties, and Properties preserved by the Succession of the Crown in the most illustrious House of *Hanover*. But though the late Duke was persuaded by the aforesaid Bishop, to fly from his Country, and take up his Residence in a Kingdom to whom he had been a sworn Enemy before, yet he had the Consolation to see, that the two principal Agents, who under a Shadow of Friendship had betray'd him, had shared the same Fate : For the Secretary, conscious of his own Guilt, and dread-

dreading the Vengeance that was due to his atrocious Crimes, fled into *France*, not daring to abide a fair Tryal; and the Bishop was exiled afterwards, having first been deprived of his Bishoprick, for a Crime consequential to what he had been guilty of before.

It was reported, but how true it may be, I will not take upon me to determine, that the misguided Duke was an Agent for the *Pretender* at the Court of *Spain*; however, this is certain, that he is now reduced to very low Circumstances, and 'tis as certain, that the Secretary was not only an Agent for the same Person, but did all that lay in his Power to fix him upon the *British* Throne, even after he was impeached of *High Treason*. And yet this very Man, who plotted and contrived to ruin this Kingdom, was indulged so far as to return and continue in his native Country.

If *Mercy* were not to be mixed with *Justice*, few Men would be left alive, and as these are the shining Characteristics of a Prince, it were to be wished that Providence will, in its own good Time, compassionate the unhappy Sufferings of the late Duke of *Ormonde*, so that being made sensible of Delinquencies, and
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manifesting an unfeigned Contrition for what he has been guilty of, he may be permitted to end his Days in Peace of Mind, in his beloved Country, and sleep with his Forefathers in his old Age. I shall conclude these Memoirs with the following Relation.

LYCURGUS, who had reformed the *Lacedemonian* State, having received such a Blow with a Staff, that he lost one of his Eyes in a Sedition stirred up against him in the City, because of the Rigor of the Laws which he had established there ; after the Sedition was appeased, had the Offender delivered into his Hands to punish him as he should judge most proper. But he, contrary to the Expectation of the People, not hurting one Hair of his Head, took him into his House, and instructed him in Virtue and good Discipline ; and within the Year's end, he brought him forth into the publick Assembly, being no less virtuous and well nurtured than he was vicious before : He then addressed himself to the People and said, *Behold, I restore the Man unto you, being mild, gracious, and fit to do you Service, whom you gave to me outrageous and dessolute.*

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...has been guilty of the crime
...to end his Days in Peace
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